AS WE MARCH ON ...

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SPEECHES

M. KARUNANIDHI

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God Dwells in the smile of the Poor!

I feel privileged to participate at Chandigarh in the 500th birth anniversary of Guru Nanak, the famous sikh leader. Thiruvalluvar, the immortal saint of Tamil Nadu, gave us the gift of 'Thirukkural' two thousand years ago. At a time, when we are celebrating the 2000th anniversary of the great Valluvar, it is very significant that the 500th anniversary of Guru Nanak is also being celebrated.

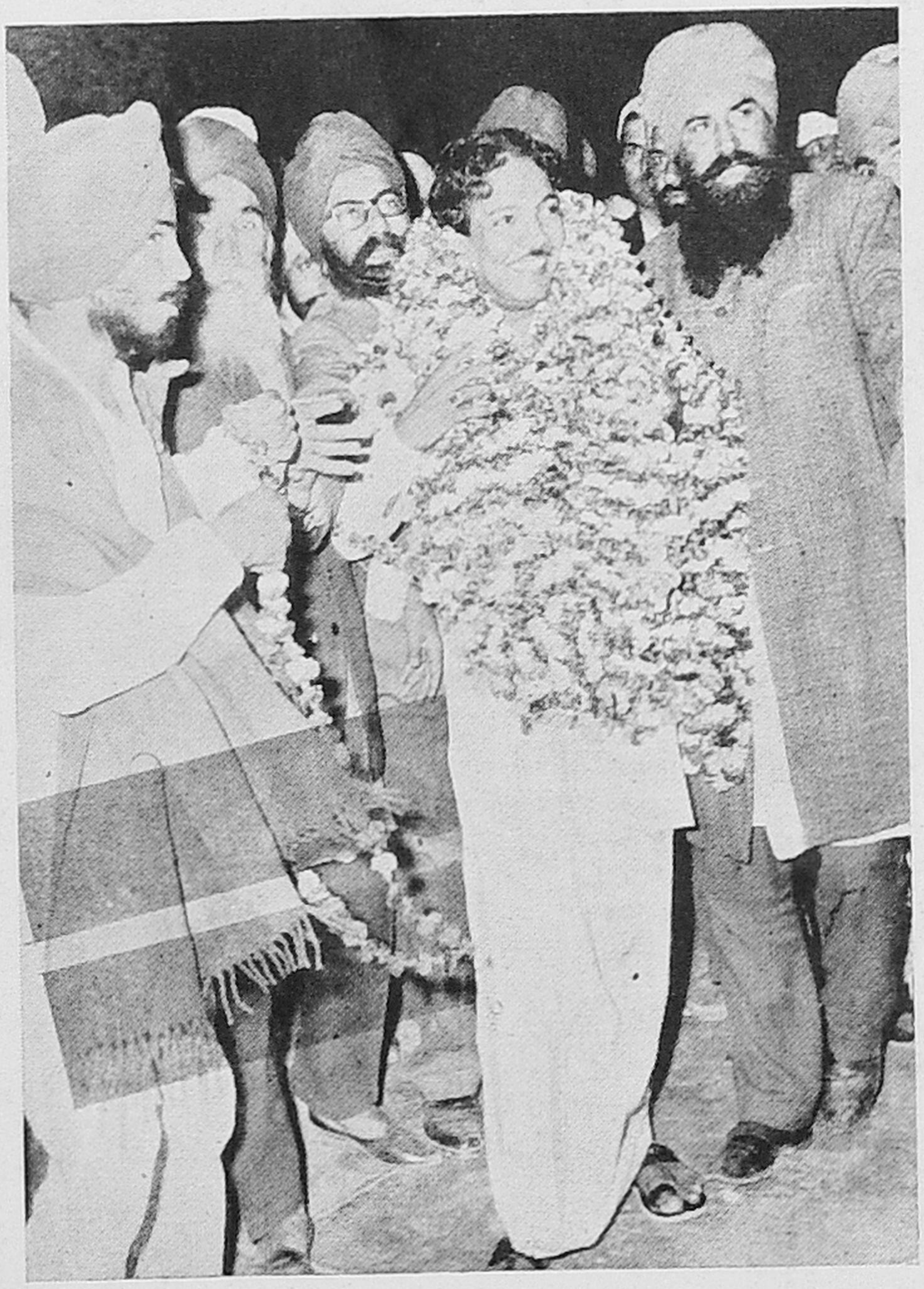
There is a close bond between Punjab and Tamil Nadu. Here, I am not referring only to the bond of friendship between me and your chief minister but also to the affinity that exists between our thoughts. Following the foot-steps of the great Thiruvalluvar, we in Tamil Nadu, are crusading for the abolition of castes and superstitious beliefs. In Punjab too, you are wedded to the same ideals as propounded by Guru Nanak.

In the first phase of the war of Independence, if I may call it so, in Tamil Nadu the hero Kattabomman fought and gave his life. Here in Punjab also Bhagat Singh kissed the gallows. Again in Tamil Nadu, Umaithurai, Periamarudu and Chinnamarudu offered the supreme sacrifice like your Sukhdev and Rajaguru. I pay my homage to this land, which has become sanctified by the blood of these martyrs.

In our State; Thiru Sankaralingam went on a fast to change the name of the State as Tamil Nadu. While fasting, he died, not now, but ten years ago. Here also your great Peruman sacrificed his life after fasting.

I do not want to enter into any controversy here, but I kneel down to pay my homage to the land which gave birth to such valiant leaders.

Guru Nanak who was born 500 years ago, faced innumerable odds in propagating his ideals. He was even thrown behind the bars. But this too, proved to be an opportunity for him, to spread his faith. To the prisoners he propagated his ideals. To a man of ideals there is no better lovable place than the prison. Sometimes I myself feel



that the prison (which I used to frequent) is a much better place than even the Ministerial Gadi.

Guru Nanak changed the prison into a garden of contemplation. He possessed such miraculous powers even from his younger days. Just as the Sun drives away the darkness as it rises,—so also, Guru Nanak dispelled the darkness of superstition from the minds of the people.

Let me cite an example from his early life.

His parents made all arrangements for the " Upanayanam " (thread bearing ceremony) of young Nanak. He refused to accept the sacred thread telling that " Let us wear the thread made of love, respect and knowledge. That thread alone will have sanctity. The ordinary thread is superflous. " This was his interpretation of the old custom.

To cite one more episode from his illustrious life, let me say this:

It seems, once, overtaken by fatigue he fell asleep with his legs pointing towards a sanctum sanctorum. Religious minded people who saw this, were annoyed and scolded him. Nanak requested them to put his legs in the direction where God was not residing! Those who admonished him were ashamed.

By combining the best of Hinduism

and Islam he created a new faith. In Tamil Nadu we have a District called 'Salem'. There they specialise in grafting two varieties of mango plants into one. The fruit so obtained from grafting, is sweeter than any other fruit. So also the fruit of wisdom of Nanak.

Celebration of festivities alone in the name of great men will not bear fruit. Something concrete should be done to spread their message. The Government of Tamil Nadu have come forward to establish a college in the name of Guru Nanak and consider it an honour to do so.

We are happily participating in the many festivals celebrated in Tamil Nadu in honour of his 500th Birth anniversary. Such functions should not be mere festivities but should make us think and emulate the principles propagated by him. The community at large should also benefit and made to live a better life.

Many saints have appeared in the country. But religious differences have not disappeared.

Many religious reformers have also appeared. But caste rivalries have not been resolved yet. Innumerable rationalists have also appeared. Still superstitions have not died out.

What is the reason for all these maladies? We should ponder over this carefully. Best remedies have been prescribed, yet the diseases continue unabated. Why? The reason may be, that probably the patient had not utilised the medicines at all!

It will not be of use if the ideals of great men remained as dead letters. We should not only read them but practice them actively. We should propagate them to others sincerely.

The sun gives us light. The cloud gives us rain. Those who want to sow and irrigate their lands may utilise these bounties of nature. But neither the light nor the rain would physically compel any man, plead and say "O! Lazyman, make use of us" In the same way, great men can only give us light. We alone have to follow that light. The savants also have blessed us with the rain of ideas. But we have failed to make use of them. The fault lies with us only.

Selfish and unkind persons have no respect for humanity and they care very little for God. But those who love their fellow beings, could see and realise God within them. In fact they become divine souls themselves.

When such is the easiest way to seek God, it is very funny to see some people, searching frantically for God elsewhere, forsaking this true path.

WHERE IS GOD?

"In the smile of the Poor—
In the tit bits of the child—
In the sweat of the labourer—
In the chastity of the lady,
In the grace of the gentleman—
In the eyes of the thinker—
In the searching knowledge of the scientist—

—God dwells."

Ignoring this truth, quite a few are searching, for God in vain, in the wrong place, like the proverbial blind man, seeking the black cat in the dark room. To these people Nanak gave the true explanation of divinity, and showed them the correct way.

The nature of social service changes from time to time. There was a time when there was a need for imparting civilisation to the barbarians. But, once civilisation advanced, thousands of differences also grew up. Now there arose a need for a few, to reform the many. Then these reformists grew in numbers. Naturally conflicts arose among the reformers themselves, and then a need arose for a few 'peace-makers' to settle such conflicts.

Take for example the story of human progress even.

The human being who was eating raw flesh learnt to cook his food. Then fresh troubles started; it became another problem to relieve his hunger and satisfy his diverse tastes.

Take the many contradictions we see in society to-day: On the one hand children are defined as divine beings, while on the other a propaganda is launched to prohibit the birth of too many children. I am not going into the merits of these, but only state the actualities.

Similarly we hear among Nations a war cry calling upon citizens to be up in arms, to save their mother-land while in the same breath, resolutions are also passed to release 'Peace Doves' to preserve world peace.

It is only amidst such conflicting currents and differing environments, great men like Nanak, who are the true gems of humanity, are born to work for the emancipation of the human race. It was such a rare light that dawned on us in 1469 when Guru Nanak was born.

Guru Nanak spoke thus:-

"All religions are similar,
All men are equal,
Truth is the greatest of all things,
But there is one thing greater than truth even,
And that is to live according to truth."

He said:-

"There is only one God
Religious rituals are a waste
There should not be differences of caste or religion
All human beings are brothers and sisters."

500 years have passed since his birth. Rivers have changed their courses. Water-falls have changed their venue. Hills have transformed themselves into valleys. The waves of the sea have washed away cities. The forests converted themselves into sandy plains. Sandy plains have changed into fertile gardens. The human being who once invited the Moon to come to his side, had now gone to moon itself, as it had not responded to his call.

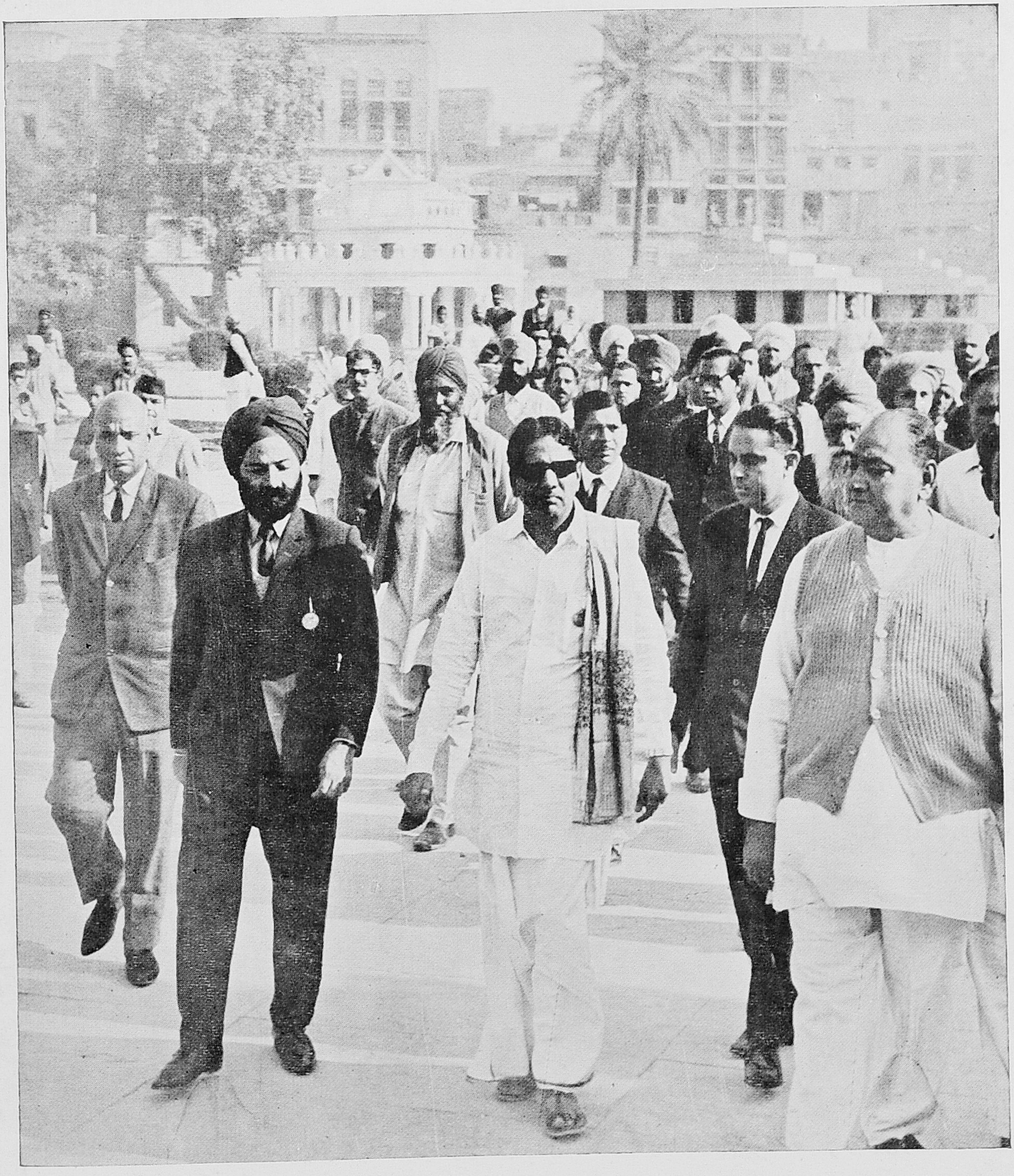
Thus even though innumerable changes had taken place in the last 500 years, there had been no change in the name or fame of great personages like Guru Nanak. His name is ever-lasting. His teachings are immortal.

The birds sing the glory of the name of Nanak. The clouds shed tears of joy responding to such music. The songs of Nanak float along the air. This sweet melody embraces Tamil Nadu also. I am enthralled by it.

Oh! People of Punjab! I become one with thee. I stand before you in ecstasy. I am thankful to your Chief Minister who is responsible for my presence here today.

Long live the fame of Guru Nanak!

Translated from original Tamil by S. GAJENDRAN



Tiruchirapalli District DMK Fifth Conference.

The Tiruchirapalli District DMK Conference, the first of the District Conferences to be convened after the sad demise of ANNA, founder of the Kazhagam was held on the banks of the river Cauvery, at Kajamalai on February 21 & 22, 1970 under the presidentship of Thiru C. P. Chitrarasu, M.L.C., one of the senior leaders of the Kazhagam. It was inaugurated by Thiru M. G. Ramachandran, M.L.A., and Party Treasurer. The conference was highlighted by the participation of Thiru Gurnam Singh, then Chief Minister of Punjab, who spoke on the first day of the conference. Thiru M. Karunanidhi, President, DMK party addressed the conference at the concluding day, late in the evening. This was reminiscent of the oration of ANNA that he usually delivered at the conclusion of every conference that was held during his lifetime.

Thiru Karunanidhi said:

" 'Perarignar ANNA!'—That was how I always began my speeches at the conferences so far. But I stand before you submerged in pathos searching and searching for the elder brother."

" ANNA! You gave the order and in obedience to that order, Navalar

Nedunchezhiyan[1] rushed to the forefront to assume the post of General Secretary. While I find Navalar in our midst today, where have you gone—you, the Generalissimo, who gave the order?"

" Mathialagan [2] is always adamant that others should come round to his point of view. Whenever he has decided upon a certain move, he won't rest till he is able to make others agree to his view by his persuasive arguments! Those were the words you uttered quite often referring to Mathialagan. He is here; where are you, ANNA?"

" You laughed at C.P.C.'s [3] sallies and openly declared on many an occasion 'What can I do, *Thambi* (younger brother)? I cannot contain myself. I am provoked to laugh heartily at the effulgent way he speaks'. That Chitrarasu made us all here weep with joy with his ready wit, sarcasm and worldly wisdom. Where have you gone away without hearing brother Chitrarasu's effulgent address?"

" Seated next, N. V. Natarajan [4] with pleasure and pride usually gave you pan-supari, which you delightfully munched with a victor's smile on your lips. That N.V.N., who offered pan-supari to you is here. But where are you—you, who led us on to victory?"

" Your dear younger sister Satyavani Muthu [5] is here. Where have you, her elder brother, gone away?"

" That angry man, Muthu, [6] who melted the moment he was brought to your presence, is here in this conference. Where have you gone—you, who could melt him?"

" ' Mannai, I am not to be blamed, it is only Karunanidhi, who does not want me to go to Mannargudi! These are the mischievous words you employed whenever Mannai Narayanasami [7] invited you to visit his place. Mannai, who relished your mischief, is here. Where have you gone?"

" Whenever Anbil Dharmalingam [8] accosted you, you used to ask him 'just show me your eyes' and see his round eyes at close quarters. Anbil, who showed you his eyes open, is here. But where have you gone with your eyes closed?"

" You always received S. S Rajendran [9] with affection whenever he came to see you. That S.S.R. has come to see you. Where have you gone, ANNA?"

" Proceed onward, Thambi; return a victor, Thambi. With these blessed words you showed me the way at Chidambaram to Dalmiapuram, ANNA. ANNA, I have returned with laurels. Where are you, ANNA? Perarignar ANNA, where have you gone?"

" I have faith and everyone in the conference pandal has similar faith that ANNA has not vanished; he is somewhere unseen. I know, he is witnessing the grandeur and the hubbub, he is looking at all his brothers

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1, 2, 4, 5, Cabinet Ministers
3 Present Chairman of the Legislative Council
6, 7, 8, District DMK Secretaries
9 Present Member of Rajya Sabha

and sisters; he is listening to the speeches, no doubt. ANNA is here enshrined in all our hearts."

" You heard Navalar yesterday describing at length the pains taken and the interest shown by ANNA at the time of the Second State Conference of the D.M.K. held in 1956 in this place. Unconscious absolutely of his status and age, ANNA, like a volunteer, spent days at the conference-site making enquiries about various aspects like the length and width of the Pandal to be erected, the desirability of having as frontage a model fort, the use of various colours to create a glittering atmosphere and his fitness to paint so as to make the pandal beautiful. He spent nights and days encouraging everybody engaged in preparations for holding the State Conference"...

" The sorrow that I did experience when I lost my father and the gloom that I did feel when my mother expired are nothing compared with the poignancy of the sorrow and gloom I have experienced at the demise of ANNA; the poignancy is there and it will be there till I die. Till then, I will have to continue to bemoan the irreparable loss."

" After ANNA, the Kazhagam put on my shoulders the stupendous burden of governance. With confidence I rely on you, lion-hearted friends and gold-like comrades. My colleagues in the cabinet have also taken up the responsibility of administering the State solely relying on you all, like me."

"I look on everyone of you as an ANNA. The advice and solace that ANNA had been giving us during his lifetime are still available with the only difference that the void created by ANNA has since been filled up by forty million Tamilians, who have stepped in to offer both advice and solace to us."

"We are meeting here in a conference three years after assumption of office in the State Government. This is called a District Conference. Brother C.P.C. said yesterday that Anbil Dharmalingam had just lied by stating that it was district conference and asserted in his own jovial and clever way that a state conference was being held. There is truth behind the assertion for, in enthusiasm, exuberance, beauty and grace, this district conference has proved itself equal and similar to the State Conference."

"Some of the friends, who preceded me spoke about the venue of the conference. Adjacent to this *maidan* is situated Kajamalai. I have something to say of a particular feature connected therewith. On the day succeeding Pongal[10] every year the festival is celebrated by holding a sport known as fighting the bull. Years ago I witnessed it with fervour and zeal. At the site used for the sport of fighting the bulls, we conferred in 1956 and decided to catch and subdue the bulls and the efforts subsequently proved successful. Again we are conferring on the self-same site and we are on the look-out for those bulls. This conference is held at a juncture when we are not able to comprehend on whose side the bulls are."

"My cabinet colleagues have told you of their achievements in their respective fields. The General Secretary in the course of his meritorious address, expatiated on how best the comrades of the DMK should observe Duty, Dignity and Discipline..."

"All of you should strive for strengthening the party by maintaining unity. Our character should be so cultivated as not to give room even for the slightest dissension. The spirit of unity emphasised by ANNA should be inculcated."

"Last week when I visited Chidambaram, I was awarded the title *Kallakudi Kavalan* at the reception held in my honour. Mementoes and presents were profusely offered to me. When I spoke at the end, I said: 'I am not happy over the title you conferred on me. The presents you have heaped upon me have not gladdened my heart. I am not exhilarated by the garlands showered on me. The handloom clothes you have given me have not created joy in my heart. Over and above all these, what makes me happy is the presence as never before at this meeting of one and all of the Party comrades in Chidambaram on one and the same platform and I cannot think of a happier occasion."

"If such news of unity and discipline are often conveyed to me or the General Secretary or any of the other Ministers, therein lie the flowery head-dresses, golden crowns and huge garlands

[10] Pongal - A big festival of Tamilians held after harvest every year.

offered and multi-coloured pandals and praiseworthy addresses of welcome arranged in our honour. Unity is far more superior than all the paraphernalia attached to a reception. I stand for unity and in my stand I swear by ANNA."

"The Kazhagam, after assumption of office, has not, as you should all believe, gone to any stage of immoderation, which I can prove by citing an instance. You are all aware that ANNA flame, Kallakudi flame and Conference flame were all brought from distant parts and handed over to us. You have also witnessed the handing over of similar flames at the time of the meeting of the General Council held on 19th and 20th instants. Who are all those, who brought the flames? They are all the workers who are the backbone, pulse and nerves of the Party. Are they fatigued or are they distressed after the Party assumed office? Have they cultivated any careless mentality? No, the workers are straight and orderly. They are disciplined and intrepid. We, the others have to learn orderliness from the workers and develop our character. Fully conscious of the fact that the workers are there ready to undergo any kind of sacrifice when called upon to act, I assumed the office of Chief Minister on the demise of ANNA, when pressed to do so by friends."

"I am occupying the seat of ANNA! Just think over awhile!"

"In the place of butter, I am there only as lime in as much as both are of the same colour. Because we are all brothers of a big family you have chosen me to lead you, for I am sure, you, the workers, represent the *pan* and Navalar and the like-minded colleagues at the central office of the Party do constitute the *supari*. I will definitely be a worthy *lime*, to make the mixture of all the three result in the desired red hue. Lest you forget, allow me to remind you that we are careful in not allowing the tobacco in the mixture; for, dizziness will be the effect of that additional component."

"Let me repeat what I have already told several audiences in Tamil Nadu after stepping into the shoes of ANNA. I want to say it again, for here is a large gathering of ladies in this vast congregation. A small family whose pivot, the housewife, expired suddenly, sadly found itself orphaned by her unlimely death. The other members of the family, viz., widower and the two children, boy and girl, found themselves as if rudderless in the mid-sea. As the father of the boy and his younger sister have to go to his workspot, he is not in a position to attend to the household duties. The boy merely because he is a boy, has never gone near the kitchen even. The girl is so young that she knows nothing practically by way of cooking. She is in her early teens and does not know even to dress herself properly in half-sari. But looking at the condition of the family, she makes bold to enter the kitchen, makes an attempt at cooking and after a certain amount of confusion is able to prepare rice, curry etc., and serves them both. Will the father and brother find fault with the teenage girl for the

absence of some cereal in the dishes or for the half-boiled way in which rice has been cooked? Will they go out in anger without eating the food prepared so assiduously by the young one? They will naturally pat her, encourage her and of course consume the not-so-well-prepared dishes with relish, under the impression that as time passes on, she is sure to improve. On the same analogy, ANNA's demise sent me into the kitchen. My dishes are there and they are not as tasty as they should be. Yet you relish them, though I am conscious of my drawbacks. I am in the position of that teenage girl. Give me time and I can assure you that at a later date my skill in the culinary art will be comparable to that of *Nala*."[11]

"Vested interests were anxiously looking forward to the disintegration of our Party after the demise of ANNA. Their wishful thinking that the difference of opinion between Karunanidhi and Nedunchezhiyan would erupt into a first-rate crisis leading to cleft and division in the rank and file was a thing of the past. But let us look at those, who foresaw division in our ranks. Disappointed and disillusioned they themselves stand divided now with daggers drawn and pointed at one another. Never can a wedge be driven in the Kazhagam and its wheel rolls on, gathering strength day by day. He, who could ever succeed in disintegrating the Kazhagam, is yet to be born. I don't think the like of him would ever be born in this world."

[11] Nala: A master in cooking described vividly in ancient mythology.

"Of course differences of opinion may be there; there may even be clashes. The opponents fail to understand our way of politics. Our political life is entwined with the cultural life that is our own. The political quarrels that we carry on with the opponents are no doubt fights *par excellence*. The apparent quarrels that sometimes we carry on in our own ranks are nothing but the dramas we can enact. They are just shows and I warn the opponents not to be carried away by such shows and not to mistake play for reality."

"The traits of the Kazhagam and the achievements of administration during the past three years have all been praised by not only those in Tamil Nadu but also by those beyond the frontiers and even in far off countries. In Tamil Nadu, however, some people in the opposite camp and even a few among the alliance parties unfortunately have a distorted view of the Party and its traits and achievements."

"'In the election manifesto of 1967, promises galore were presented by the DMK. Have they fulfilled those promises?', ask the opponents. To answer the critics and deriders, I took the trouble of going through the manifesto, a copy of which is always readily available with friend Pillappan for whom it is like a bible. The first part of the manifesto had been drafted by ANNA with so much care and diligence and political acumen that nobody would be able to find fault with it however much they might try. ANNA had pointed out how an opposition party should function, how the party

fared in its role of opposition and how it would function as a ruling party."

"It has been stated that the DMK wedded to organising a virtuous political system and to establishing a casteless and classless society and to socialism, had been supporting the ruling party whenever it followed a path conducive to the above principles and opposing it with a view to prevent that party from doing things contrary to the commonweal whenever the actions of the said party tended towards a policy of antagonism to the said principles. In the role of oppostion the Kazhagam earned the approbation and satisfaction of the public mind. The public had therefore, begun to feel that if the reins of administration were to be placed in the hands of the party, till then playing the role of an effective opposition in a decent manner to the then ruling party (Congress), it would carry on the administration with responsibility."

"As a ruling party, we have been running the administration on sound lines giving due regard to the opposition parties. Following the footsteps of ANNA we have learnt to appreciate those in opposition and to take into consideration their points of view. To cite an example, on the day when Thiru Madhavan and I left for Delhi for talks on the Cauvery water dispute and the Hemavathi Project, with the Mysore Government, we held a conference at the secretariat in the forenoon of that day and consulted not only colleagues like Navalar but also opposition leaders like Thiru Karuthiruman (Congress). Only after arriving at a consensus here in consultation with opposition leaders also, did we fly to Delhi."

"Have we forgotten anything that we had stated in the election manifesto? What all have we been able to implement on and after assuming office? One of the main features of the manifesto related to opposition to Hindi. As has already been explained to you by Maran, during the lifetime of ANNA itself, the Assembly met and passed a resolution on the language problem. The serious situation created in the State as a result of the Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 1967 and the connected resolution passed by the Parliament of India was considered by the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly at its session held on January 23, 1968. The House, having refused to accept the scheme of the Union Government for the imposition of Hindi, in deference to the views expressed by the people and students of Tamil Nadu, resolved—

> That the three-language formula shall be scrapped and that Tamil and English alone shall be taught and Hindi shall be eliminated altogether from the curriculam in all the schools in Tamil Nadu:
>
> That in the National Cadet Corps and similar Corps, the 'Hindi' words of command shall not be used, and if the Union Government refuses to accept this, such National Cadet Corps and others shall be disbanded.

The House further resolved that expeditious steps be taken to introduce Tamil as medium of instruction in all the colleges and as the language of administration in all the various depart-

ments of the State Government within a period of five years."

" While the National Cadet Corps has been revived only after the Union Government consented to the removal of Hindi words of command, we have taken steps for effective introduction of Tamil both in the colleges and in the departments of Government. The Salem Steel Plant referred to in the manifesto will be a *fait accompli* soon. The East Coast Highway referred to in the manifesto is engaging our attention. Kalpakkam Atomic Power Project finds mention in the manifesto. Work relating thereto is in progress. In the manifesto, mention has been made about bank nationalisation, nationalisation of bus transport and bringing of water from the Cauvery to the Madras City. We now find nationalisation of banks accomplished. Transport is being nationalised by stages. To augment the supply of water to the City, the Veeranam scheme is making brisk progress. The scheme is designed to provide an additional 40 million gallons of water per day to the City. We stated that the grievances of the teachers and village officers should be redressed. We are accordingly taking steps to ameliorate their conditions. We declared that unnecessary controls of a distressing nature deserved to be abolished. Now we have abolished food control. We said that slum dwellers should be rehabilitated. Permanent non-inflammable structures are being constructed for that purpose. We demanded a separate department of Government to attend to the backward classes. Today we have not only created a separate department but a Minister has also been put in charge of the welfare of those classes. In the first instance I was holding the portfolio; later brother N. V. Natarajan has taken charge of it."

" In the election manifesto we stressed that all villages should be electrified and that they should have amenities like supply of drinking water and medical and educational facilities. Tamil Nadu is forging ahead in such matters."

" Thousands of acres of surplus land have been allotted to landless peasants. Pattas covering 150,000 acres of cultivable land have been issued so far."

" We also mentioned in our manifesto that wherever river irrigation was not possible, artesian wells would be sunk or natural springs would be tapped for purpose of irrigation. As a step to give effect to the above announcement, we have formed Land Development Banks and thereby given fillip to minor irrigation schemes and tube-well irrigation. For these schemes we have provided millions of rupees."

" Big landlords entrenched in Congress have made the Land Ceiling Act null and void by taking advantage of the several loopholes therein. The DMK Government are taking steps to plug those loopholes. To those, who are posing the question as to what the DMK is going to do towards land reforms, I simply ask them to wait and see.

" We also said that the DMK would

strive for the cause of forming a true federation at the Centre and securing more powers to the States. We are not alone in this sphere of activity. The Chief Minister of Punjab has fully endorsed our view. The DMK Government have constituted a three-men committee in order to secure more powers to the State. The committee will examine and advise the Government as to the powers that are to be transferred from the Centre to the States. The DMK will take steps to strive for full autonomy to the States."

" Mr. Manoharan M.P. expressed his doubt whether the Congress Party will rule the Centre hereafter. I have a more serious doubt. It is not whether Congress will rule at the Centre hereafter; but whether there will in future be a Central Government at all, as it is understood now. Henceforward our slogan should be:—

' Full autonomy at the State;

Loose Federation at the Centre.'

Nobody need be confused by loose federation at the Centre. Does it mean a Government of united front of parties or a coalition of parties like Congress, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Communist Parties, Jana Sangh, Swatantra and Akali Dal? No, I visualise a joint venture at the helm of affairs at the All India level. My suggestion, if implemented, will strengthen the hands of the States. The State parties will grow in strength and stature. Simultaneous with the election of Chief Ministers of States, the representatives from the States to the Centre will also be elected. In the Central set-up they will present the States' aspirations and guard the States' rights. The details of the system I have just outlined will be worked out by the General Council of the DMK at a future date."

" As I have stated during my tour of Punjab and as pointed out by Mr. Gurnam Singh here, the future is for autonomy at the State level and federalism at the Centre."

" Next in importance is the language problem. On the language problem, Madhavan, Mathialagan and Manoharan spoke heroically and valiantly. According to them, it is not necessary to resign when all our efforts to stem the tide of Hindi imperialism prove fruitless. Because the people gave us the mandate to rule, we need not tender resignation, so they say. We should, however, remember that we follow the path of ANNA. Once ANNA stated that his ministry would resign if Hindi overpowered and came to stay in Tamil Nadu. If in spite of all our perseverance Hindi finally conquers us, we have no other option left but to resign. I do not share Manoharan's downrightness which will only force the Union Government to dismiss our ministry. Is it not better to remove ourselves than being removed by others? When we find ourselves helpless to fulfil the promises we made to the people on the eve of elections, why should we stick on to power? Should we not show to the world and the populace that we are not mad after pelf and power? No other honourable way will be left then but to resign. After resigning, we

will face the enemy in the battle field of non-violent agitation by creating popular opinion..."

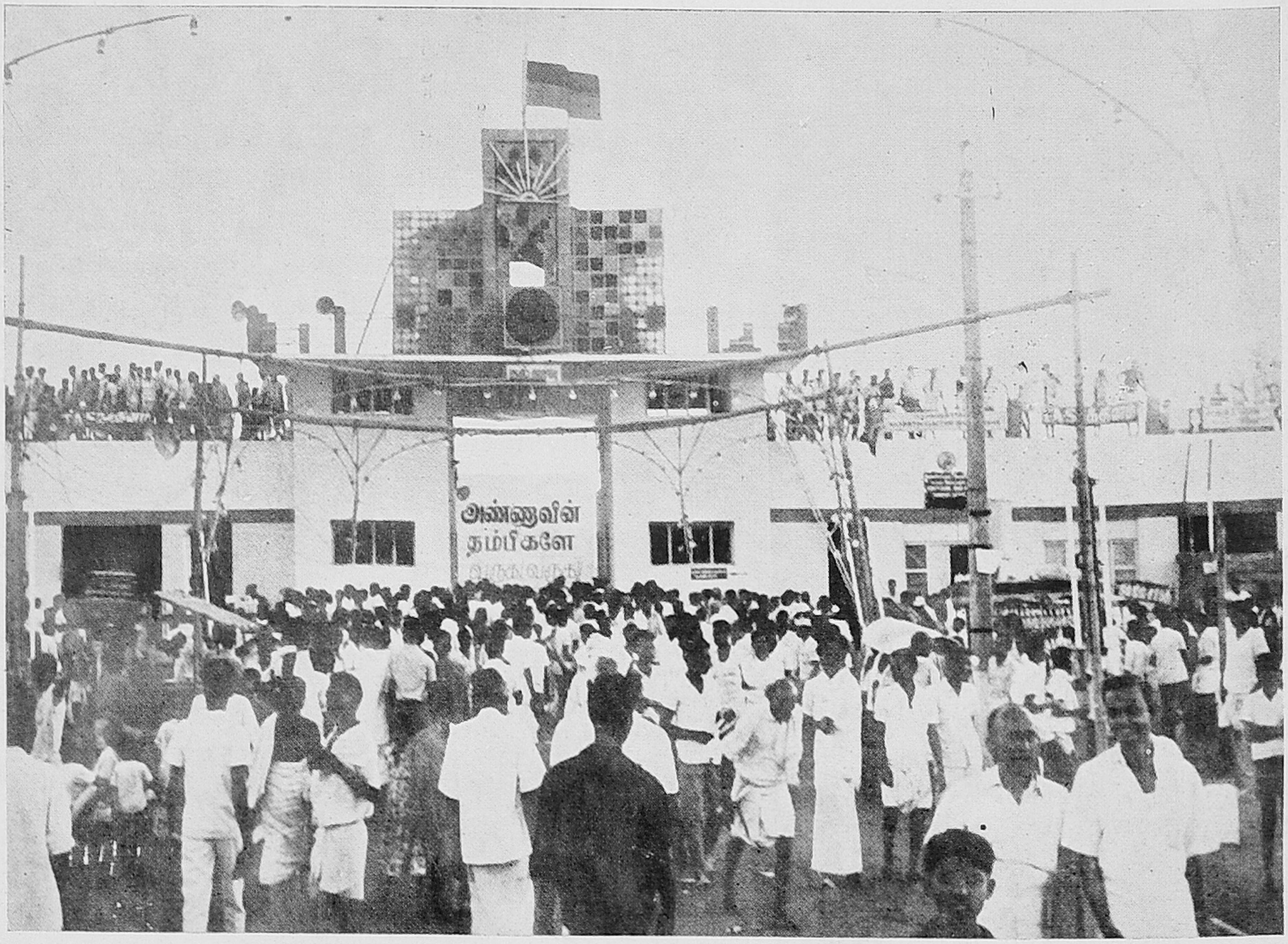
"Our political goal will, therefore, be, as I have already stated, full autonomy at State level and true federalism at the Centre. This declaration I take it as the will of ANNA."

"On the question of language, we will relentlessly oppose the imposition of Hindi..."

"On the social plank, we stand for casteless and classless society. Socialism in its proper perspective means annihilation of exploitation of any kind whether it be the domination of one caste over the other castes or the suzerainty of the landlord over the tiller, or tyranny of the capitalist over labour or subjugation of the illiterate by the literate."

"Good Government and Clean Administration are our aim. ANNA established both. The DMK in power has not at any time missed the aim which is but its political grammar..."

"The General Secretary has announced yesterday that three million rupees will have to be collected to face the general election in 1972. You are well aware of the arduous and strenous efforts involved in the collection of a million and hundred thousand on the eve of the general elections in 1967. Some of the comrades, who spoke before me, said that election can be contested without any money, and they were applauded. I know that those, who



clapped their hands are not candidates. I also know that candidates do not clap their hands. We are not for collecting millions of rupees. We do not want money to purchase votes in the elections. Just to meet normal items of expenditure like transport, printing of handbills and posters and publicity for the DMK Government's achievements, we will have to spend considerable amount and for that purpose the General Council has resolved that three millions will have to be collected."

" As stated by Minister Muthuswamy in the forenoon, soon in July, there will be elections to village and town panchayats. In the election manifesto, we stated that the Presidents of Panchayats and Chairmen of Panchayat Unions should be elected directly. In the elections to be held in July, the Presidents of Panchayats are to be elected directly for the first time by the entire electorate. I rely upon you to do intensive campaigning and work hard and secure laurels in the Panchayat elections. Victory in July depends on your unity, strength and toil."

" Lest you may forget, let me refresh your memory on the slogans we have to adopt and preach throughout the length and breadth of Tamil Nadu:

1. We will follow the footsteps of ANNA and serve the country.
2. We will establish a social order without domination.
3. We will permanently oppose tooth and nail imposition of Hindi on Tamil Nadu.
4. We will triumph against poverty without resorting to violence.
5. Autonomy for the State; Federalism at the Centre.

I have given you the above slogans in consultation and conjointly with Navalar. Spread the message of the DMK far and wide in every nook and corner. Repeat the slogans again and yet again. Serve and strive for the propagation of these principles and rest not till victory is assured."

Translated from original Tamil by S. GAJENDRAN

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